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# The Catholic Church and socialism

Chicago

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THE

# Catholic Church and Socialism

By FRANK BOHN and
Father THOMAS McGRADY

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FATHER McGRADY

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# THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIALISM

## PART I.

BY FRANK BOHN.

MAR 28 1956 GLS

In an open letter, printed and given to the public in the press, Rev. Father Kluser of Morgantown, W. Va., made the following remarkable statement:

> **"You want by all means a R-R-R-R-Revolution. Well, you can have it. We are keeping our six-shooters and gatling guns in good trim and we are ready to receive you. If we 15,000,000 American Catholics are not able to shoot off the heads of 117,984 Dues-Paying Socialists, we do not deserve to live."**

These words probably express the views of an extreme anti-socialist fanatic, but from every authentic source comes proof that the catholic church, by command of the pope, and in pursuit of its ages-old custom, is united in relentless opposition to the socialist movement. The papal encyclical against socialism was first published in 1878. Since that date the catholic clergy have never spoken of the socialist movement except to deride and bitterly oppose it.

In the face of this opposition, with its endless perversion of facts and bitterness of spirit, the socialist party maintains a consistent attitude of calm and non-resistance. The socialist party replies to the representatives of the catholic church only to correct its misleading errors concerning socialism. Organizations have been formed and a press developed to inquire into, expose and oppose the methods and purposes of the catholic church. But the socialist party has never sought to carry the war into the camp of its self-appointed enemy.

For the work of the socialist party is confined absolutely to the fields of politics and economics. There it works and fights entirely within the limits of the constitution and the laws. Its position in the body politic is recognized and protected by law, and yet the catholic

church, challenging its right to live and to flourish, is exerting might and main to uproot it.

**The Pope Commands the Catholic Church to Fight Socialism**—In 1878 Pope Leo XIII. published the famous encyclical from which issues the united catholic opposition to socialism. It is entitled "Socialism, Communism, Nihilism." Published in the same year in which the brutal exceptional laws against socialism were passed by the imperial government of Germany, it marks the official unity of the pope and the hierarchy with the kings and the capitalists of the earth, in their war upon the working class. The following paragraph leaves no doubt as to the duties laid upon all faithful catholics in the conduct of this war:

"In short, spurred on by greedy hankering after things present, which is *the root of all evils, which some coveting have erred from the feith*, they attack the right of property, sanctioned by the law of nature, and with signal depravity, while pretending to feel solicitous about the needs and anxious to satisfy the requirements of all, they strain every effort to seize upon and hold in common all that has been individually acquired by title of lawful inheritance, through intellectual or manual labor or economy in living. These monstrous views they proclaim in public meetings, uphold in booklets, and spread broadcast everywhere through the daily press. Hence the hallowed dignity and authority of rulers has incurred such odium on the part of rebellious subjects that evil-minded traitors, spurning all control, have many a time within a recent period boldly raised impious hands against even the very heads of states. . . . . .

"It has even been contended that public authority with its dignity and power of ruling, originates not from god but from the mass of the people, which considering itself unfettered by all divine sanction, refuses to submit to any laws that it has not passed of its own free will."

The socialist movement in America is organized into a regular national political party. It is composed chiefly of American citizens and appeals to the American public in municipal, state and national elections for the purpose of making and administering the laws of the land. At the command of an Italian pope the rich and powerful hierarchy in the United States permits itself to lose no opportunity to attack and malign this political party.



Yet the socialist party is often condemned by the representatives of this same hierarchy on the ground that it is "un-American."

How can we explain so brazen an effort? The answer is plainly written, not only in the entire history of the catholic church, but more explicitly in another encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, entitled "Catholicity in the United States," published January 6, 1895. From it we take the following most significant sentences:

"It would be very erroneous to draw the conclusion that in America is to be sought the type of the most desirable status of the church . . . . she would bring forth more abundant fruits if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority."

Here, then, is recent and specific authority and command given the hierarchy in the United States to secure for the church such powers as may be implied by the "favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority."

**These Encyclicals are Blows at the Constitution of the United States.**—In attacking socialism on the one hand and seeking control over politics and government on the other, the catholic church leaves the sphere of religion and goes into politics. Applying its autocratic power over its faithful it sets at naught democratic principles, interferes with the freedom of elections and the right of our American people to rule itself as it sees fit without interference by any foreign power. This attack it should be the duty of every American citizen to repel.

Compare the closing sentences of the papal encyclical on socialism, in which Pope Leo XIII attacks the fundamental principles of democratic government, with the preamble to the constitution of the United States, which reads as follows:

> **"We, the People** of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common Defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this **Constitution** for the United States of America."

Words would surely be wasted in emphasizing the contrast. The catholic hierarchy, in claiming to be loyal to the government of the United States is either at war with itself or practicing a thinly veiled Jesuitism. No man can accept the views expressed in the encyclicals of Leo XIII and be at the same time a loyal American citizen devoted to the principle of the absolute separation of church and state.

**America Will Not Tolerate Catholic Interference with Politics and Government.**—Thomas Jefferson founded the democratic party. Jefferson once said, "I desire that three statements be inscribed upon my tombstone—'He wrote the Declaration of Independence, founded the University of Virginia, and secured the separation of church and state in Virginia.'" Today the greatest city and state of the nation are ruled by a Roman Catholic machine —Tammany Hall—which sails its pirate ship with the banner of the democratic party at the masthead.

One of the essential differences between medieval barbarism and modern civilization results from the revolution which has occurred in this very matter. The catholic church was undoubtedly useful and necessary to the government of Europe in the fourteenth century. But as any people becomes civilized it develops a sense of civil and political rights independent of its priesthood and religious forms. A developed mind becomes a free thinking mind. The difference between France and Spain, for instance, or between the United States and Mexico, fairly illustrates the principle. The civilizing message of the eighteenth century has never laid hold of Spain It revolutionized France—freeing its people from absolute monarchy and from the vestiges of feudalism, among which was the tyrannous authority of a depraved catholic hierarchy.

**We Protest Against Being Forced to Fight Over Again the Social Wars of the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries.**—If this struggle does not quickly come to an end it will have a stultifying and degenerating influence on the whole intellectual and social life of the country. We can be saved from such a catastrophe only by the greatest firmness and resolution. The catholic church must be kept out of politics NOW. The socialist party



appeals to all catholic wage-workers to join the non-catholics in making this demand effective.

In its attitude toward the catholic church the socialist party has shown a wonderful degree of self-control, going quietly about its political business in a way that has won the respect of the whole country. The socialist party will never seek to adapt itself to the mental processes and the language of arguments long gone. It seeks to transfer the bloody weapons of physical war from the armories to the museums. It holds also that religious bigotry, jesuitical intrigue and the whole swarm of miseries arising out of conflicts of religious beliefs should remain buried deep underground where they belong.

**The Socialists, the Catholics and the Public Schools.**—The socialist party takes its stand upon the foundations of civilization already laid in the United States. These are a free press, free speech, free public education, a citizenship unterrified at the ballot-box and the rule of the majority. Of these the cornerstone is free public education for all.

The socialist party performs the functions of political administration with three ends in view. It seeks first to use the political power in the interests of the working class in its struggle upon the industrial field. The socialist party will thus help the unions to win strikes. Second, when the socialist party wins a place in government it makes use of its place to promote the public health and develop the means of a higher social life generally. Third, the socialist party is the only party which has any adequate vision of either the needs or the social possibilities of the public schools. Upon this field of public education the conflict between the socialist party and the catholic church seems likely to rage more fiercely than anywhere else.

Let us again repeat—if the catholic church will agree to keep its limbs entirely out of the public school question, the socialist party will never mention the church in its discussion of the subject. If our catholic fellow citizens wish to establish parochial schools for their own children, let them do so. Socialists do not advocate compulsory state education of all children. But unfortunately, the catholic church has, from the very beginning, bit-

terly fought our public school system in its entirety. This is a fact of such common knowledge that we shall not pause to support it by citations from the catholic pulpit and press. Our public school system has been developed in the face of a catholic opposition conducted day and night, year in and year out, with ever increasing virulence and power.

**The Socialist Conception of Public Education.**—Our public school system is the direct product of the democratic spirit and purpose. The first half of the nineteenth century in America witnessed the greatest realization of democracy which the world has thus far attained. The free agricultural population in the western states, in possession of their own homesteads and tilling their own fields, was the first to establish a system of general free public education. The social power of an awakened wage-earning class in the eastern sea-board states soon worked toward the same result. Both of these democratic social classes demanded a common school education for their children for a dual purpose. The first was the creation of an intelligent voting citizenship. The second was for the purpose of placing within the reach of the children of farmers and wage-workers the vast opportunities for advancement which the frontier community afforded to the poor.

With the growth of social need and individual aspiration our public school system has been greatly developed. High schools, normal schools and many thriving state universities have been established. In many cities a successful beginning has been made toward the socialization of the schools. Night schools have been established for workers. School houses are being used as social centers in working class districts. Free playgrounds for children are being developed in congested districts. Closely associated with all these is the growth of the public library as a factor in free education. With all its faults the public school system in the United States is, next to the labor movement, the most hopeful socializing institution in the country.

This system the socialist party proposes to advance in a manner and degree which only the leading educators among the non-socialists can comprehend. A socialist



administration of the schools would develop the public school system along the progressive lines already indicated. It would increase the number of teachers as well as the salary of each. If the catholic church sees fit to make war on the public schools as at present conducted, what will be its attitude and temper when the socialist party in municipalities and states sets about carrying its public school policy into effect? Of course hundreds of thousands of teachers and other intelligent citizens will be drawn to the socialist party primarily by their desire to support these measures. Reform parties will attempt to compete with the soicalists in developing this policy. But only the socialist party can bring the requisite power, which is the organized mass of the workers, to bring these measures to complete triumph. Only under socialism will the greed of the capitalist profit taker and tax payer cease to be the colossal hindrance to progress which it now is. The great privately owned monopolies and the catholic church are already united against the progress of the public schools. As the socialist party grows this struggle will be second only to the great primary conflict on the industrial field itself. But in the industries the catholic church will be the lesser factor in opposition to the workers' interests. In education it will be the greater factor, unless it is, at an early date, forced to surrender entirely its policy of meddling in politics.

**On the Industrial Field the Hierarchy Has Not Yet Reckoned with the Catholic Workers.**—No religious, political or other power outside the working class can ultimately prevent the solidification of the workers on the industrial field. In the factories, mines and fields the wage workers' interests tend to weld them ever closer together. The message of industrial solidarity appeals to the catholic workers in the same way and with exactly the same results as it does to non-catholics. Jesuitical efforts to divide the labor movement into separate religious elements, such as the "Militia of Christ," have signally failed. The catholic workers are far too intelligent to permit themselves to be hoodwinked by such methods. In every labor union in America we find catholics, protestants, jews and atheists fraternizing and working to-

gether in perfect harmony. Especially during the last two years have events, large with significance in the world of labor, dispelled any illusions as regards this matter. During the great strike of the textile workers of Lawrence, Mass., in 1912, the whole body of workers in the mills of the woolen trust stood together as never before. The Lithuanian and Polish workers demanded of their priests the right to hold strike meetings in the churches built out of their wages. The priests were forced to grant their request. The strikers then insisted that scabs be forbidden to attend religious services. When the priests refused, the strikers picketed the churches as they did the mills and drove the scabs from the church doors.

Great strikes are the most important events in the making of history today. A strike is a battle in the social war. When the working class, organized industrially, masses its forces for such a battle it speedily breaks down every idea, every institution and every other barrier which tends to divide its members. When two workers, a catholic and a protestant, have worked together, fought side by side, been clubbed by a force of catholic and protestant policemen, and find themselves at last in a prison cell binding up each other's wounds, they are not likely to exaggerate their religious differences.

August Bebel, after his long and distinguished career in the German socialist and labor movement, has written in his autobiography that "The future of the working class lies in unionism:—it is through the unions that the masses become class conscious, learn to fight the capitalists and so naturally become socialists." In its hopeless war on socialism the catholic hierarchy has not paused to reckon with this fact. The socialist party will more and more become the political expression of the labor unions. As such, the catholic working people will gradually come to support it. The more bitterly the catholic politicians fight the socialist party, the greater will be the number of catholic workers who will be driven out of the church. That is inevitable. Thousands have already, forced by their priests to choose, chosen the socialist party. Other thousands, while remaining in the church, have stood firmly upon their right to political freedom and driven the priests to wink at their socialism.



Among the workers the class struggle develops a knowledge of the realities of life. A knowledge of facts takes the place of a belief in miracles. A human cog in the machine process of the factory system soon parts from his superstitions. Sound views of life and labor, of politics and of social conditions soon permeate minds trained in the accurate and regular processes of modern industry. When these minds are stirred by the call to the social war a new idealism arises. Revolutionary hymns are sung. Finally the socialist conception of industrial freedom becomes an inspiring vision. Great indeed must be the services rendered by any church if it would maintain the allegiance of an educated and aroused working class.

**Fighting Social Evolution Is Not a New Experience for the Catholic Church.**—Since the establishment of the catholic hierarchy, which occurred from the fourth to the sixth centuries A. D., western civilization has passed through three great transformations in government:—from the Roman Empire to feudalism, from feudalism to national absolute monarchies, and from national monarchies to modern constitutional states.

The catholic hierarchy opposed the development of feudalism. It made an effort to perpetuate the Roman Empire by crowning Charlemagne emperor, and dubbing its creation "The Holy Roman Empire." The intention was to create a secular government which would be entirely subject to the papacy, and thus rule Europe absolutely in matters temporal as well as spiritual. In the eleventh century the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, who were Germans, sought to conduct the affairs of the empire independently of the papacy. The bitter conflict between church and state raged for centuries with varying fortunes. But the church was finally forced to leave the emperors to their own devices. Meanwhile the church itself had been revolutionized. The feudal form of society and government was a natural growth in medieval Europe and the church itself was feudalized during the ninth and tenth centuries.

As the national monarchies arose, its creature, the Empire became little more than a myth.

The church bitterly opposed the development of the monarchies. When from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, England, France, Spain and the states of Germany took political form, the papacy sought by every means in its power to curtail their control over their respective populations. The old story of the pope attempting to divide the newly discovered lands of America and Asia between Spain and Portugal, leaving the other nations out of consideration, is one of the classic jokes of history. But it was over the crucial matter of taxation that the medieval church was finally wrecked. For centuries the kings and the parliaments of England fought the claims of the popes in the matter of the property rights claimed by the hierarchy in England. Centuries before the Reformation England found it necessary to pass law after law, limiting the fiscal powers of the church. The popes had come to claim that all the monarchs of Europe held their crowns in liefage from Rome. But in its struggle to make this claim good the church failed utterly.

The protestant reformation, which was in fact a social revolution, was fundamentally a struggle between the monarchs of northern Europe and the papacy concerning the right of the pope to tax the subjects of the kings. The governments of the richest and most progressive nations turned against the whole catholic sytem rather than see the good mintage of their realms slip so easily out of their hands. The modern world had come into existence, but the church decided to have its back broken rather than to turn it upon the medieval past.

Finally the great French Revolution and the entire struggle for political freedom in Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was most bitterly opposed by the Roman church. Political democracy was as natural to the nations of western Europe and America in the eighteenth century as was feudalism in the ninth or monarchy in the fifteenth. By supporting the ancient regime with all its antiquated horrors during the French revolution, the French section of the Roman church committed suicide. During the movement for independence and unity in Italy from 1840 to 1870, all the forces of civilization in Italy were united against the pope. By foolishly opposing the wishes of a united Italian people, the papacy suffered a defeat in Italy as great as had overtaken it in France during the revolution. It would seem that from long experience of failure the Roman church should learn wisdom. But only yesterday the catholic priesthood of Portugal sided with King Manuel against the revolutionary forces of his people and were crushed and driven. Like the old French monarchy, the hierarchy "learns nothing and forgets nothing."



**In Matters Political the Catholic Church Is Veritably "All Things to All Men."**—In Ireland the priesthood opposes the British government and claims that it favors an Irish republic. In France the hierarchy opposes the republic and intrigues with the monarchists to again seat a Bourbon upon the throne. In Germany, where the imperial government is a protestant monarchy, the catholic church has organized a strong political party for the purpose of protecting its interests. To-day it is found compromising with the emperor where but yesterday it bitterly opposed the imperial government. In Italy, where the papacy has never endorsed Italian unity and constitutional government, it remains violently hostile to the present regime. In backward Spain the church is more closely wedded to the government than in any country in the world. There it was that it secured the legal murder by a military court of the anti-clerical philosopher and educator, Francisco Ferrer, a fact indicated beyond all doubt by William Archer, the special agent sent to investigate this whole matter by McClure's Magazine. And this was later admitted officially by the highest civil court in Spain.

However the church may practice the doctrine "All things to all men," it is quite evident that it does not pursue this policy with the "wisdom of serpents."

Does the catholic church believe in the government of kings? It does—in France, Spain, Belgium, Portugal and Austro-Hungary.

Does the catholic church believe in and support republics? It does—in Ireland, Switzerland, Canada and the United States.

Does the catholic church openly engage in politics and take part in government? It does—in Germany, Canada, Spain and Spanish America.

Does the catholic church openly advocate the advisability of the pope administering secular government as an absolute monarch? It does—openly in Italy, and very quietly is this contention defended in whispers elsewhere, even in the United States.

Does the catholic church accept the principle of the separation of church and state? It does—in Great Britain, Germany and the United States.

Does the catholic church oppose universal suffrage? It does—in Belgium, where a rich man or a college graduate has several votes to the worker's one. Does it claim to favor equal and unlimited suffrage for the workers? It does—in the United States, where such suffrage has already been secured and where it would be fatal to oppose it.

Does the catholic church oppose socialism? It does—everywhere. Because nowhere has the socialist movement, as yet, established the new social order.

**Can a Catholic Be a Socialist?**—Certainly. Why not? Thousands of catholics ARE socialists. Between the hierarchy and the catholic laity there is as much difference as between capitalists and workers. The socialist party does not make it a part of its business to inquire into the religious beliefs of its members as the catholic church inquires into the political views of its adherents. Catholics who are socialists know that their party wishes to ignore the church as it has ignored Mormonism Theosophy and Christian Science. Socialists know that the laity among nearly all religionists conceive of their belief as being something quite apart from both science and politics—being a matter of faith and worship entirely. If a catholic socialist, while sitting in his church pew on Sunday, accepts a monarchial form of church government, a dogmatic theory of knowledge, a dualistic view of the universe and surrenders his right to think for himself, utterly, in matters of religion—



that is his business, and not that of the socialist party. Nor is it the concern of the labor union to which he may belong. All that the party demands is that he advocates the social ownership of the land and the social machinery of production, accepts the theory of the class struggle as the only means to that end and gives his entire political support to the socialist party. Argument on the point under discussion ceases in presence of the well-known fact that thousands of catholics loyally fulfill these obligations.

**Let Us Not Deceive Ourselves.**—In asserting the position taken in the above paragraph, we are apt to be misleading. Therefore let us hasten to say that by far the greater part of the catholics who become actual dues-paying members of the socialist party soon cease to be catholics. The socialist party is the greatest working class educational force in the world to-day. It distributes thousands of books dealing with all branches of science. While it is quite true that a catholic may accept the principles of socialism and yet remain a catholic, it is equally true that if he reads history, biology, chemistry and other sciences as taught in the twentieth century, he will soon cease to be a catholic, as the hierarchy defines the term. Dogmatic theology of all kinds, catholic as well as protestant, disappears before modern scientific methods and their results in positive knowledge. No one at all familiar with present conditions can fail to observe that the whole intellectual life of our time is anti-religious. But this is not due to the socialist movement. Surely no one would accuse the socialists of producing the great bulk of our modern scientific knowledge. Modern scientific knowledge has been one of the primal forces in producing the conditions which are forcing socialism upon the world. It is not socialism that is destroying religion. Science, as early as the third quarter of the nineteenth century, had cut away the intellectual roots of religion. This was before modern socialism was heard of in America.

**The Socialists Are Not Anti-Religious.**—In the solution of the modern social problem, religion should not be an issue. John D. Rockefeller is a devout baptist. Thomas F. Ryan is a faithful catholic. Andrew Car-

negie is a free-thinking unbeliever. Simon Guggenheim is a Jew. These four constitute an unholy quartet in capitalist robbery among whom the workers can not distinguish the slightest difference.

**The Folly of the Catholic Hierarchy.**—In opposing socialist efforts to unify the working class upon the political field the catholic church is working great injury to itself. The various church organizations have always had the religious field entirely to themselves. Therein the socialists have only been too glad to leave them to their purposes. In entering the political arena to fight socialism the catholic hierarchy is preparing itself to receive the most crushing defeat in its history. Colossal blunders it has made without number again and again. That it should now rush so blindly into this new danger is beyond the comprehension of any one familiar with the forces engaged. Had the French clergy possessed the acumen to desert the French monarchy at an early date the catholic church might to-day be as strong in France as it is in America. Under socialism there will no doubt be a large number of people who will wish to take part in religious worship. It would seem that the wisest policy for any church would be to accept the changing social forms of our revolutionary time with the best grace possible. Any church which does not accommodate its method and its message to the new regime must ultimately perish.



## PART II.

BY THOMAS M'GRADY.

NOTE: Thomas McGrady, the author of the following paper, was for fifteen years a priest in the Roman Catholic Church, ever standing high in the respect and love of the people to whom he ministered. Coming from a race that had not been oppressed for generations in the Old World, he had learned to hate injustice and oppression with a deathless hatred; and in the free, intellect-stimulating atmosphere of America he had learned the sacred duty of exercising reason, and thinking rather than parroting what others decreed one might think. He was from boyhood a great reader and after he entered the ministry of the church he not only studied exhaustively the writings of the greatest of the church fathers, but he also read the works of the master thinkers of recent centuries who had done so much to advance the cause of science, justice and freedom. In the philosophy of Socialism he believed was to be found the political economy that embodied the ethics of Jesus and that would emancipate the toilers of all lands while binding them together in a great and truly fraternal brotherhood for mutual development and happiness. He advocated the principles of Socialism with much the same religious fervor that marked the aspostate of Giuseppe Mazzini. His reading naturally broadened his intellectual vision, and in his writings he spoke of the debt civilization owed to Charles Darwin. He was not blind to the immense service rendered to the oppressed and the struggling ones by the fearless pen of Emile Zola. His adherence to Socialism and the breadth of thought that could see good in the writings of such men as Darwin, Zola and Renan, aroused the indignation of the dignitaries of the Roman Church. The priest was ordered to recant and to cease to proclaim his adherence to the social philosophy which he believed most perfectly to mirror forth the teachings of the Founder of Christianity. This brought him face to face with a most important question. A great temptation confronted him. In the church he had a good position, a comfortable living, and for one as intellectually brilliant and naturally gifted as was Father McGrady, steady and rapid advance in positions of power and honor in the priesthood was assured. Moreover, he loved the Mother Church with all the deep affection that his race feels for the Roman Catholic religion; but to yield to the autocratic demand of the hierarchy would be to be false to what he believed to be the high demand of justice, duty and human rights. It was to be false to the teachings of Jesus and the early fathers of the church as he understood these teachings. In a word, it would be to sacrifice his moral and mental integrity. A less high-minded man, a person more interested in the flesh-pots of Egypt and personal ease and advancement, would have succumbed to the temptation, stifling his conscience and sense of right; but this

was impossible for one so constituted as is Mr McGrady, and with feelings of profound regret that the church he so loved refused to permit him to be an intellectually free man and to proclaim the ethics of social justice, he resigned his position, leaving his congregation that idolized him. Something of the love and reverence felt for him by the members of the church in which he had long ministered may be gained from the following extract from a leading news article published on the first page of the *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune*, on December 8, 1902. The article opened with these words:

"Yesterday morning, to a congregation that packed his church, St. Anthony's, in Bellevue, Kentucky, Rev Father McGrady announced that he was no longer their pastor, as he had resigned the charge, left the priesthood and the church in which he had been reared.'

Of the reception of his resignation by the congregation the *Commercial Tribune* said:

"When Father McGrady made his rather startling statement, yesterday morning, to his congregation, there followed a remarkable scene.

"'I am no longer your pastor and this will be my farewell sermon,' were the introductory words. It seemed as if all, old and young, knew and fully realized the import of the announcement. There was bowing of heads, and men, women and children, wept. For let it be said that Father McGrady, no matter how far he departed from the rules and doctrines of the church, was still greatly beloved by his congregation in the little city just across the river. They had come to know him as their spiritual father and adviser, as their fellow-man and physician. He comforted them spiritually, but he also had time and again comforted them and others physically. For he went about often doing good to those of the faith and to those not of the faith. In Bellevue in the neighboring communities, and on this side of the river the man came to be known. His ministrations were to the sick physically as well as to the sick spiritually.

"After the services most all of the congregation lingered and crowded about their beloved pastor, weeping and pleading with him not to leave them. It was a scene remarkable in this day and in this country. But the priest remained firm."

The following contribution by Mr. McGrady, coming as it does from a man who officiated as a priest for fifteen years, with a splendid record for faithful service, and who gave up a position of ease, with splendid prospects before him, rather than be untrue to the dictates of his higher nature, is worthy of the thoughtful consideration of all lovers of intellectual liberty, justice and human progress.—*Editor of The Arena.*

Diverse opinions are held today, in the United States, by the conflicting schools of political and economic thought on the influence that the Catholic Church will exercise in suppressing the growth of the Socialist movement. It has been frequently intimated, and sometimes



openly declared, by representatives of the democratic and republican parties, that the Church of Rome will be the bulwark against the onward tide of economic revolution, and their views have been sanctioned in many cases by the metropolitan press. The disciples of the Marxian philosophy maintain that any church which presumes to dabble in politics is destined to suffer loss and sustain defeat by disunion and dismemberment; for in that field of thought and activity the laic asserts his independence and will not be governed by clerical authority, and in support of their views they refer to Protestant secession in the United States on the question of slavery. Again it is said that Holland, Belgium, France, Italy and Germany are dominated by Catholic influence, and yet in those countries both the Catholic laity and members of the Catholic clergy give their support to the revolution.

Having spent fifteen years in the Roman Catholic priesthood, and being thoroughly acquainted with the history, theology, laws, institutions and the spirit and ambition of the Church, I am prepared to give an opinion on this much mooted question. The inference drawn from Protestant dismemberment on the question of slavery in America has no application to the empire of the Pope. The Catholic Church is an organization which has its center of unity in the Eternal City, cemented by the primacy and infallibility of the Holy See. She has the same faith, speaks with the same voice, commands with the same authority and inspires the same obedience wherever her temples are erected and her altars are consecrated to receive the homage and adoration of her loyal children. The Pope cannot err in proclaiming dogmatic and moral definitions. A Catholic must accept the entire body of doctrines or he ceases to be a Catholic. There is no place for individual opinions. Private interpretation is strictly prohibited. Reason is dethroned and authority usurps its place. This accounts for the fact that an intelligent Catholic never becomes a Protestant. The moment he repudiates one dogma of his faith he bids farewell to the altar of his sires and adopts the religion of science. The Pope is not infallible if he commit a single error,

and if the Pope be not infallible the Bible is a human creation and Christianity is a human institution.

The Catholic Church brooks no compromise. She maintains her position with heroic courage. She disputes every inch of territory claimed by science, and only submits when absolutely conquered, though she never admits defeat. She meets the enemy with scorn and defiance. When victory ultimately perches on the flag of her adversary she adroitly veers around, and qualifies her doctrines and attempts to reconcile her views with the logical and indisputable deductions from the facts of scientific discovery, and finally adopts the universally accepted conclusions of the learned without reservation. But in this triple attitude of defiance and condemnation, compromise and reconciliation, submission and acceptation, she maintains that she has never changed. She cannot admit defeat. The acknowledgment of defeat is a confession that she had previously erred in condemning what she now sanctions, and such concession would demolish the doctrine of infallibility. She evades all difficulties arising from her contradictions by creating in the person of the Holy Father a dual character, in one of which he plays the role of a human being with all the defects of a fallible creature, and in the other he is the viceregent of the Nazarene, and his utterances in that capacity are hallowed with divine authority. Popes have contradicted the pronouncements of their predecessors, but the Church has always contended that the first spoke in his human character, while the latter expressed the fiats of heaven. It is an arduous task to decide when the incumbent of the Holy See speaks with human, and when he speaks with divine authority. It is this uncertainty which enables the Church to proclaim the condemnation of science in solemn and terrific language, and at the same time to escape the censure of committing herself to error. The Pope may err, but the Church is infallible, for the Pope errs only in his human character. Thousands of books have been written, and the learning and genius of the Church have been expended in disproving the fact that the heliocentric theory was condemned by papal authority. Doctor McGlynn was excommunicated by the Holy See for advocating the Single Tax, and the Papal encyclical on labor, issued in 1891, distinctly mentions the land question and unequivocally places the doctrine advocated by Henry George under the ban. Two years later Doctor McGlynn was restored to the Church, without a word of recantation, and the Church maintained that he had never been excommunicated.



The Roman Church succeeded the Roman Empire, and she inherited the institutions, the literature and the laws of her pagan predecessor. The dominion of the Cæsars was world-wide. It extended from the vine-clad hills of Caledonia to the ramparts of Gog and Magog. It was the mightiest power on the globe. Roman ambition thirsted for universal empire. It was the dream of the bard and the pride of the statesman. It was the inspiration of its legions and the glory of its generals. But a conquering nation must cultivate the science of jurisprudence. Law follows the sword. Rome became familiar with the customs of the conquered tribes, and from this vast knowledge of the common law of diverse peoples she created the most remarkable system of jurisprudence that the world has ever known. The Papacy was established on the throne of the Cæsars, and inherited the ambition for universal empire. The study of law was an essential concomitant of this glorious dream, and the Roman ecclesiastics became masters of Roman jurisprudence. They adopted the law of pagan Rome as the basis of ecclesiastical law. The canon law and the civil law are wedded, and whenever the Church met the barbarian she combined the establishment of government with the Christianization of the tribe. The Roman ecclesiastics are the ablest lawyers and diplomats that Christian civilization has produced. For three hundred years they defeated all the efforts of judicial lore in England to enforce the laws of mortmain which were passed to prevent the growth of vast estates in the possession of the monastic institutions.

The Church of Rome is the most potent psychological factor since the dawn of history. In the language of Lord Macaulay, she has been created and fortified

by the wisdom of fifty generations of statesmen till her organization is almost perfect. She knows how to adapt herself to circumstances and to utilize the ability of individuals and the eccentricities of human character. She inspired the youthful hero with visions of glory and transformed the religious dreamer into an ardent Soldier of the Cross, and Loyola created an army that has braved the perils of land and wave to extend the Papal empire. She has found a place for the ambitions of the high and the lowly. She has opened a way for the exercise of masculine power and of feminine enthusiasm. Through the confessional the voice of the millions resound in her ears. She is familiar with their thoughts and desires, their woes and sorrows, their pleasures and joys, their sins and crimes, their strength and weakness. She is acquainted with their social and domestic relations. She knows the heart of the peasant and the soul of the king, the simplicity of the cottage and the splendor of the court. She knows how to mete out rewards and threaten punishment so as to accomplish her designs. She is imperious with the weak and bland with the mighty, when she realizes that she will lose in the conflict. When fear is the best weapon she is relentless, when courage is requisite she is equal to the occasion. Persuasion is used when command would fail. She rewards the loyal and efficient servant with the highest honors, and she visits the obstinate with excommunication and degradation. Her ritual is charming, her ceremonial is grand, and her services dazzle the mind of the untutored with reverential awe. With these marvelous gifts, using every weapon, appealing to every sentiment and every emotion in the human heart, adapting herself to every phase of human society, and to the temperament and peculiarities of every individual, anticipating every danger, ready at all times for sedition and revolt, enlisting in her service the highest talent—men and women taken from all ranks of life—she has outlived feudalism, which is her natural environment; she has flourished with modern democracy, and, although declining, still controls the thoughts of millions. Her authority and her institutions have been the secret of her power and the means of her long domination.



Protestantism has never been clothed with the Circean charms of Romanism. Luther rebelled against the domination of the Vatican, repudiated Papal authority, and established the principle of private interpretation. Ecclesiastical infallibility vanished. The laic was endowed with the privilege of seeking his inspiration from the sacred books. The ceremonial was simplified, the services were performed in the vernacular, the charm of mystery faded from the temple, and the majesty of God no longer reigned in the silence of the sanctuary. The clergyman lost his superiority. The Church sacrificed her supremacy in the spiritual world and the pulpit can no longer dictate to the pews. The parson is the hired servant of the congregation and his position depends on the will of the people. Clerical aristocracy was abolished and spiritual democracy was enthroned. Hence when the question of slavery was agitating the American nation the parson presiding over a slaveholding congregation was compelled to defend the masters from the charge of infamy. He had no choice in the matter. He must be consistent. If slavery was wrong it was his duty to denounce the crime and reprimand the master. As the slave was property, the clergyman could not interfere with that sacred right and hold his position as pastor of the Church. His material interest inspired him to sanctify the servitude of the Ethiopian with biblical quotations and consecrate the use of the lash with divine authority.

The priest is appointed by the bishop and the bishop is created by the Pope, and the entire hierarchy is independent of the laity. The Catholic has not the courage to rebel against the authority of the Church, for rebellion signifies excommunication and eternal damnation. Only a complete religious revolution could break the dominion of the clergy. Owing to the iron-clad authority of Rome, and the appalling results of excommunication to the loyal Catholic, revolutions are rare in the Papal empire, and only occur after centuries of abuse and oppression. Revolt was brewing in the Church for three hundred years before it took definite form in the Protestant Reformation. The monarch of the Tiber still reigns in the City of the Twins, and loyal principles

still govern the Catholic Church throughout the world.

In attacking Socialism the Roman hierarchy eliminates economic discussion and evades the censure of dabbling in politics by removing the question from the material to the spiritual plane, basing the condemnation of the Marxian philosophy on dogmatic and ethical principles. This method of warfare terminates all controversy. The Catholic can not repudiate Papal authority and remain within the pale of the Church. Her decision is final. He bows in submission to the voice of the Church, for she has charge of the fountain of grace and holds the keys to the eternal mansions.

Even when the Catholic has lost faith in the divine mission of the Church it is a long time before he can escape her psychological influence. I shall never forget my personal experience. I dreaded to take the final step. It meant the sacrifice of my dearest friends and associates. I turned from the fondest memories of my childhood, and I tried to forget the sweetest recollections of my ministerial career. But they have lingered in my mind like charming dreams with visions of pleasures that were forever dead. With the memory of my anguish still fresh and green, I can sympathize with the devout Catholic who must choose between the Church and Socialism. In my case it was a battle between head and heart. My reason led me forth from the sanctuary, but sentiment and affection cried out for me to remain at the altar. In the case of the simple and untutored laic, heart and mind combine their powers in claiming his fidelity to the ancient creed.

A few priests in Holland, Belgium, France, Italy and Germany have accepted the doctrines of Socialism, but they are not as a rule active in the work. They observe silence and their influence is not widely felt. Moreover, those countries are not dominated by Catholic thought. Holland is Protestant. In Belgium Catholic sentiment is wielded in defense of the throne and the castle, and its influence is confined to women and children. In France republicanism is identified with atheism and the royalists, in co-operation with the Church, have utilized the superstitions of the ignorant peasantry to overthrow democratic government and reinstate the



Bourbons, though both the clergy and the nobility are permeated with unbelief. Ninety percent of Frenchmen are avowed agnostics. In Italy religion is practically dead. The temples are deserted, the priests are called beggars, and the Pope is treated with contempt. I have witnessed services in St. Peter's on Sunday, and there were not two score worshipers in that vast edifice, the largest and grandest in the world. There are four hundred churches in Rome and the total number of attendants at a Sunday service will not aggregate twenty-thousand people.

Christianity is rapidly decaying in the kingdoms of its early birth, its prolonged career and its magnificent triumph. Wherever Protestantism established its empire and became the dominant creed, the ancient church revived, and grew and flourished with the new faith. Catholic and Reformer met in the arena, and the contending armies of the Nazarene crimsoned land and wave with human blood. Bigotry was engendered; religious fanaticism was inflamed; hatred and vilification, crimination and recrimination followed; and the best energies of the Christian mind were expanded in disputes over the versions of the Bible and the authenticity and inspirations of the sacred books. The mutual animosity of the embattled hosts eventuated in the obscuration of the mental horizon, the prevention of scientific investigation, the intensification of religious fanaticism, and the perpetuation of ignorance and superstition.

The countries that were not invaded by the evangelists of the new creed escaped the reign of spiritual frenzy, and the laity were preserved from mental perturbation, which is the greatest obstruction to accurate observation. The hierarchy was subjected to close scrutiny and fearless criticism; the conduct of Pope and priest was weighed; the people thought and observed, and observation led to investigation and the ascertainment of truth. Hence Italy and France have repudiated the Church. Catholic sentiment has lost its influence over the Belgian population, and religious reverence is rapidly vanishing in Spain and Austria. Protestant supremacy was established in Germany, but the

Germans are thinkers and philosophers, and ecclesiastical domination has perished in the land of Luther.

For these reasons no comparison can be inferred from Catholic defection in Europe to substitute the claim that the Church will not be able to control her population in America. In the foreign countries cited Catholic influence is destroyed and Catholic faith is dead. The priests, like the people, are generally free-thinkers, and have no sympathy with the pretensions of the Papacy. Economic pressure is far more acute than it is in America, and it is felt by the clergy as well as the laity. Catholic Europe has been burdened by convents and monasteries and religious fraternities, besides the ever-increasing army of secular priests. The congregations are diminishing and the revenues are dwindling. The ecclesiastical funds in Italy are mainly derived from offerings presented by the faithful in other lands, from foreign collections and from money expended by tourists who come from all parts of the world to visit the cradle of Western civilization and the home of infant Christianity. There is a plethora of clerical force, and the surplus army of spiritual toilers enables the bishops, the employing class, to reduce wages and exercise despotism. It is these conditions that make the clergy of Catholic Europe revolutionists. Their constant defection from the ranks of the priesthood excites no wonder among the people and fails to intimidate the dominant element in the Church.

Again, the Socialist party in Catholic Europe is distinguished by the magnificent array of talent which it has enlisted in its cause. Learning, culture and refinement of the highest type have been consecrated to the work of the new civiliaztion. There genius finds a magnificent stage for the display of its powers. The scholar, the orator and the thinker become national characters, and meet with men of the highest aspirations and women excelling in all the charming graces of their sex. The priest makes no social sacrifice in casting his lot with the toilers of Catholic Europe. There is every incentive to inspire the lover of liberty, and when the revolutionary blood of the ecclesiastic has been stirred by the oppression which he has endured, and the despotism that he beholds in the land, he abandons the altar and ascends the rostrum.



It will be a long time before similar conditions prevail in America, and it will be a long time before the Catholic Church loses her power in this country. Religious intolerance and fanaticism still exist in the north of Europe, and in the British Isles, where the hostile camps of the Christian empire have long fought for their sacred rights; and although it is not manifested on the surface, that bigotry has been transplanted on the shores of the Western world, and Catholics and Protestants contend for supremacy in the land of Columbia. This is a Protestant nation. It was populated by immigrants and exiles and colonists from lands where Protestant supremacy had been established. The Catholic, fleeing from persecution in his native land, met here the enemy of old. The battle was renewed, hatred for the heretic and Catholic was transmitted, and jealousy still survives and keeps alive the flaming billows of religious zeal. Here the Catholic is loyal and devout, and ready to suffer for his faith. Although this is a Protestant realm, Rome is stronger in America than in any other land beneath the sun, and it is on the shores of the Western world that she is determined to make her last grand fight for universal domination. She is mighty in the loyalty of her people, and that devotion of her children enables her to play a magnificent role on the stage of American politics.

There are three million Catholic voters in this republic. Although the Church claims that she does not interfere with the politics of her subjects, nevertheless she controls their votes. She denounces neither of the old parties, for both stand for the established order. It is immaterial to her whether the democratic or the republican is elected. But whenever the candidate takes a position against the Church or advocates a measure that would be detrimental to the pretensions of the Papacy, or the interests of the hierarchy, he is destined to meet his Waterloo. This spirit of solidarity of the Catholic population was manifested in California when Judge Maguire was nominated for governor. San Francisco had always gone democratic by a large majority,

but in that campaign, owing to the influence of the Church, San Francisco went republican by an equally large majority, and Maguire was defeated. Maguire was called a renegade because he had deserted the creed of his fathers. On the morning of the election Father Yorke's speech, delivered the previous night, in which he excoriated Maguire and called upon Catholic fidelity throughout the state to preserve the commonwealth from the pollution of the apostate, was printed in all the republican dailies in California. As a result of that diplomatic stroke the republican nominee was elected.

Through the ballot the Catholic Church is the mistress of the situation. She can defeat any candidate, blight the career of the politician and control the action of the statesman. She forced the government of the United States to send its representative to the Vatican armed with plenipotentiary powers to grant all her claims in the Philippine Islands. She affiliates with no political party, and yet she dominates the two great parties of this country. She compels the democrats and the republicans to court her patronage and seek her influence. When the Know-Nothings of America affiliated with the republican party the democrats denounced the narrow-minded policy of the bigots, and they gained the votes of the Catholics throughout the land and the sanction of the Roman Church.

In the coming conflict between the old order and the new, the Papacy must, by its inherent constitution, take its stand with the conservative element. Progress means its death-knell. The dogmas of the Roman Church will not endure the test of scientific analysis. Therefore, she seeks refuge in the shadows of ignorance. The inauguration of Socialism is the triumph of democracy, and the Catholic Church is a relic of feudalism. The establishment of Socialism is the death of aristocracy and the Church has ever maintained the divine right of kings and the divine institution of castes. Socialism stands for justice to all, special privileges to none. It stands for economic equality, which would enable the toiling millions to enjoy all the blessings of civilization which glorify the dawn of the twentieth century. Under its regime the child would be redeemed



from the bondage of toil and spend its youthful years in the acquisition of knowledge, and, fortified with the advantages of the highest education, it would spend its leisure hours in thought and study. Ignorance would ultimately disappear from the land. The political and economic tenets of Socialism can never be reconciled with the aristocratic pretensions of Rome. Self-preservation, the first law of nature, will inspire the Church to cast her lot with the capitalists, and she will ever use her influence in the perpetuation of class-rule and the domination of wealth.

The commercial magnates realize the potency of the Catholic Church in directing the minds and governing the thoughts of her subjects. They know that she is their most redoubtable ally, and, therefore, they woo her favors and cringe at her throne. Edward the Seventh made a pilgrimage to the Shrine of the Apostles. The Kaiser followed his example. The President of the American Republic sent handsome gifts to the throne of St. Peter, and Morgan redeemed costly vestments and presented them as token of respect to the Fisherman on the shores of the Tiber.

The press will publish no communication of a derogatory character against the interest of the hierarchy, and the Protestant pulpit has ceased to hurl anathemas at the Vatican. Presidents, politicians, statesmen, financial kings and industrial magnates, journalists and publishers, realize that Rome is a mighty potentiality on the American continent and they court her smiles and fear her frowns. Rome uses the boycott with terrific results. With this weapon of coercion she dominates the political and the commercial sphere from the ruler of the nation to the humblest merchant.

The Socialists in this country are lacking in every qualification that would enable them to meet the onslaughts of their spiritual foe. Learning, eloquence, diplomacy, are all on the side of Rome. Hero-worship controls every rank of society, and its baneful influence has always been wielded to aid the rich and the powerful in crushing and exploiting the poor and the weak. The toilers are especially victims of this form of idolatry. They have been opposed by the ruling class and

have been deprived of the higher gifts of civilization. It is quite natural for them to offer their adoration at the shrine of those who are distinguished by the magnitude of their wealth and the profundity of their erudition, especially when the press and the pulpit, the school and the university, hold these men before the world as examples for imitation and public homage. The Catholic Church is the nursery of hero worship, and the Catholic workingman is more servile in his veneration at the altar of the human god than his fellow toilers. Every institution of his creed is permeated with this potential cult. The Socialists spurn hero-worship. They are familiar with the law of development, and know that the great and the mighty are the creatures of environment. They are students of anthropology, biology, criminology and sociology, and they realize that the poor and the weak have been victimized for the exaltation and glorification of the wealthy and the powerful. They know that the intelligence and culture of the dominant class have been created by the sacrifices of the serving class. The ignorance and poverty of the one represents the wealth and splendor of the other. With the establishment of economic equality hero-worship will vanish, as there will be no downtrodden millions to offer their vows at the shrine of human deities. The Socialists are familiar with the methods by which the dominant element has exploited the serving element, and they know that exploitation has resulted in driving the helpless poor into the slums which breed ignorance and vice and crime. They realize that hero-worship has been utilized by the exploiters to command obedience and submission from their victims. It is quite natural that they should spurn the cult practiced in the temple where sycophants and hypocrites join the cringing multitude in presenting their oblations to human gods who are frequently canonized scoundrels and sanctioned criminals. Many Socialists in the discussion of the economic problem with Catholics, recognizing the pernicious influence of hero-worship, indulge in bitter tirades against the Church and her institutions. They denounce religion as the embodiment of iniquity, and rudely tell their fellow-toilers who are adherents of Rome that their Church



is the most potent instrument of crime that has ever cursed humanity. The Socialist falsely and stupidly imagines that the insulting diatribes hurled at the Pope and the institutions of Catholicism will eventuate in the destruction of religious influence and in the conversion of the Catholic. But he defeats his purpose. He has succeeded admirably in fanning the flame of religious fanaticism in the heart of his fellow-toiler, who is now fortified in his faith, and is ready to don the panoply to battle for his Church and the destruction of her enemies. There are very few Socialists who are qualified to address Catholic workingmen, owing to their dense ignorance of the Church and the thoughts, sentiments and inspirations she creates in the hearts of her disciples. Hero-worship is the concentrated heritage of a thousand generations, and it will survive the industrial revolution by at least a century.

There is yet a vast field in this country for the Catholic clergy. In all the Middle, Western and Southern states there is a deficiency of priests. The church offers them economic security, a life of ease, comfort and study, social influence and ecclesiastical honors. The Socialists, in this country, are deficient in the culture and refinement which characterize the movement in Catholic Europe and there is no compensation for the sacrifices which the priest makes in the renunciation of his ecclesiastical affiliations. Capitalism and Catholicism glorify their heroes to augment their power and magnify their influence. American Socialists sacrifice their heroes in the flaming fires of jealousy. The movement is yet too small and insignificant to attract the genius of the land, and the party is directed by the paltry and sordid conceptions of small men.

In the present stage of the movement the Church partially ignores the blatant utterances of the boorish propagandist. She realizes that his ruthless methods will never appeal to the Catholic. The ignorant invective will fortify the faith of Catholics, strengthen the position of the Church and confirm her claim that Socialism and atheism are identical. Dr. Buckle says, in his introduction to the "History of Civilization in England," that you can never destroy superstition by direct

attack. Opposition merely inflames the fanaticism of the religious devotee and increases his loyalty to the Church. The A. P. A. movement in America resulted to the advantage of Catholicism. Its bitter denunciations recalled thousands of former members who had renounced their allegiance to the Church of Rome to the creed of their childhood and the altar of their sires.

Rome never sleeps. She is silently observing the growth of the Socialist party in America, and is preparing herself for the coming conflict. She takes the side of the capitalist as well as the laborer, and thus she escapes the accusation of partiality. She preaches justice to all. She defends the right of private property in the instruments of production and distribution, and thus strives to earn the title of the savior of society. At the same time she denounces the trusts and the illegitimate acquisition of wealth and sanctions the unions, and thereby gains the confidence and esteem of the middle class and the army of toilers. She will continue this method of defense, and assume the attitude of mediator between the rich and the poor, till the wealth of the nation has been absorbed by a few billionaires. When all reform parties and reform measures are swept from the arena, when all thinking men realize that reformation is an impossibility, when economic revolution becomes the shibboleth of the workers and the middle and professional classes, who will eventually be compelled to combine with the toiling hosts in the preservation of society from the domination of wealth, then the prophecy attributed to Mark Hanna will be accomplished, when he said that the day was not far distant when the conflict would be a battle royal between Socialism on one side and the republican party allied with the Catholic Church on the other. She has the education, the eloquence and the influence, and the capitalists will place millions at her disposal to send forth her apostles to extirpate the Socialist movement from the land, to demolish the temple of atheism and the altar of iniquity, and to preserve our glorious civilization and our beloved country, the grandest and the mightiest that ever lay beneath the heavens and basked in the splendor of the



noon-tide sun, where any laborer can become president of the Republic.

But there are dangers ahead. Rome is never satisfied. She thirsts for absolute supremacy. She insists on the monopoly of education. She knows that she can form the plastic mind of the child and inflame the heart of the youth with her spirit by having charge of its early training. This ambition was the origin of her conflict with the French government. The monastic institutions wanted to control the education of the realm, and the teachers in those institutions sought to inflame the students with hatred for the republican form of government, with the hope of utilizing the coming generations in the restoration of the royalty. Rome has denounced the free schools of this country for a generation. She now hopes that the government will ultimately commit the education of the children of the republic to her charge as a reward for her services in espousing the cause of law and order, and as an essential means of her final victory over the legions of atheism. She contends that godless education engenders Socialism. Archbishop Quigley of Chicago said that Socialism must be crushed in this land and the public schools must be abolished, as a means of preserving the American Republic, and this sentiment has been repeated by Catholic divines from shore to shore.

The triumph of monopoly will swell the ranks of Socialism by the accession of the toilers and the middle professional class. Catholics will gradually break their allegiance with Rome, for necessity will compel them to join the army of revolutionists which the Church condemns. The political character of the Church will be revealed by her open defense of commercial and industrial despotism, for when there are only two classes she will be driven to the necessity of committing herself and taking the side of the exploiters, the sacred charm of her mysterious influence will fade, religious rebellion will follow and Rome will ultimately go down in ignominious defeat with her capitalistic allies.

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